

**Brazilian migratory dynamics: a review of empirical literature
in the light of classical, neoclassical, and structuration
theories of migration**

**Dinâmica migratória brasileira: uma revisão da literatura
empírica à luz das teorias clássicas, neoclássicas e
estruturacionistas das migrações**

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Abstract

In recent decades, Brazil has undergone marked transformations in the flows, volumes, and peculiarities of migratory movements, from predominantly rural to a country where most individuals live in urban areas. Therefore, this article aims to review the literature on Brazilian migratory dynamics, highlighting the primary empirical evidence and associating them with the main migration theories. The main theories of migration analyzed are based on the classical, neoclassical, and structuralist views that significantly corroborate the analyses of internal and international migrations. It was found that the main reason influencing the internal population displacement in Brazil is the search for better working conditions, especially with incomes higher than those earned in the region of origin of the migrants.

Keywords: migration; classics; neoclassical; structuralists.

Resumo

Nas últimas décadas o Brasil passou por transformações acentuadas nos fluxos, volumes e nas peculiaridades dos movimentos migratórios, deixando de ser predominantemente rural, para um país onde a maioria dos indivíduos vivem em áreas urbanas. Diante disso, este artigo tem como objetivo fazer uma revisão da literatura acerca da dinâmica migratória brasileira, destacando as principais evidências empíricas encontradas e associando-as as principais teorias da migração. As principais teorias da migração analisadas tomam como base a visão clássica, neoclássica e estruturalista que corroboram de forma significativa as análises das migrações internas e internacionais. Constatou-se, que, o principal motivo que influencia o deslocamento populacional interno no Brasil é a busca por melhores condições de trabalho, especialmente com rendimentos superiores àqueles auferidos na região de origem dos migrantes.

Palavras-chave: migração; clássicos; neoclássicos; estruturalistas.

Introducción

Population mobility in Brazil is related to several aspects, especially the change caused by the displacement of individuals from rural to urban areas, a process known as rural exodus, which resulted mainly in socioeconomic transformations in the national territory (Becker, 1993; Baeninger, 2005, 2012; Brito, 2012; Brito, 2006; Lisbon, 2008; Brumes; Silva, 2011 de Lima et al., 2020). This population dynamic comprises three components: birth, mortality, and migration. Thus, any change in one of them interferes with the others and consequently alters the composition of society (Lisboa, 2008).

Different phases were identified in Brazil in which changes in demographic components occurred. Over many decades, birth and mortality rates have been very high, contributing significantly to spatial conformation. Thus, some transformations in Brazil allowed the beginning of the demographic transition, especially from the 1950s onwards, in the Northeast-Southeast direction. The reduction influenced this factor in the number of deaths directly related to improvements in the well-being of the entire population (Lisboa, 2008; Baptist, Skelder, 2019).

Other economic changes boosted migratory movements, such as the drop in fertility, the increase in violence, the exhaustion of agricultural frontiers, and the relative dispersion of industry, causing changes in the organization of economic activities, especially industrial ones (Queiroz; Santos, 2011; Baeninger, 2012).

From around 1960 to 1970, industrial activity in the urban area was registered and in great concentration, as was the modernization process of Brazilian agriculture. These processes developed simultaneously, resulting in large migratory flows towards the metropolitan region. During this period, long-distance spatial mobility was developed from government incentives for constructing Brasília and the Amazon Frontier (Brumes & Silva, 2011; Silva Filho & Maia, 2023).

According to Brito (2006), the rapid urban expansion of Brazil has been incorporated into the formation of large metropolitan regions since 1970, mainly in the cities of São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro. According to the author, at that time, more than half of the urban inhabitants lived in cities with more than 100,000 inhabitants, and a third lived in cities with more than 500,000 inhabitants. Consequently, this substantial redistribution of population aspects changed the profile of the rural population, demonstrating that concentration and urbanization in large cities occurred simultaneously (Sahota, 1980).

From 1980 onwards, economic changes began to develop at the national and international level, which affected demographic, economic, and political problems. Among them are the neoliberal policies that began in the United States and England and later had repercussions in Brazil through the outsourcing and privatization of services. As a result, several questions have arisen about these problems and how they would influence internal migration (Queiroz; Santos, 2011).

In the 1990s, trends related to internal displacement in Brazil showed that long-distance migrations were reduced, especially those directed to agricultural frontiers; there was a recovery of migratory flows in the intra-regional area, notably in the states of the Northeast; there was the emergence and strengthening of poles of migratory absorption, both intra-regional and inter-regional, enabling most of the conditions to receive many migrants; and the states of Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, the Federal District, and Goiás remained as absorption areas for long-distance migrations, especially those coming from the Northeast (Baeninger, 2012).

Brazil had remarkable transformations, flows, volumes, and peculiarities of migratory movements in this context. Thus, migrations ceased to be predominantly of the countryside-city type and gained new dimensions where new places of population attraction differed from the previous places. In this way, people began to migrate to areas where they were more economically developed, that is, to regions where economic activities were more dynamic and there were more job opportunities and prospects for intergenerational mobility of wealth (Heckman, 1979; Lisbon, 2008; Johnson and; Salt, 2018).

According to Freguglia and Procópio (2013), population displacements between regions are a common aspect of the Brazilian labor market, which has striking characteristics such as wide territorial extension and disparities in labor income levels across the country. Therefore, it reflects the poor distribution of productive activities and differentials in remuneration for work.

On the other hand, Lima and Vale (2001) argue that the incentive for Brazilians to migrate is linked to a historical factor, being part of the composition of society and the production of its space. This event is related to the rigidity of the social pyramid in Brazil. Therefore, to improve economically or ascend socially, it is necessary to migrate to another region. Thus, in addition to the fact that migrants are sensitive to economic incentives, they tend to have higher incomes and consequently demonstrate consumption needs. Therefore, population mobility is characterized as people's response to financial situations in which geographical transformations are based on the possibility of acquiring better salaries (Mincer, 1978; Massey, 1993; Queiroz; Santos, 2011; Lima et al., 2019).

Although the factors influencing the migratory process are predominantly economic, subjective factors such as cultural, religious, and family characteristics must be considered. Consequently, migration patterns began to be analyzed, reflecting the constant changes in countries' political, economic, and cultural relations (Lisboa, 2008; Rodrigues, 2015; Riggoti, 2019; Silva Filho & Santos, 2021).

Because of this, it is necessary to consider not only the condition of activity but also that of occupation. That is, how migrants are inserted in the labor market and how inequalities between migrants and non-migrants employed in the Brazilian labor market persist. Observing the level of activity and analyzing only the economic aspect can have repercussions on social and economic issues that are less common in studies on the insertion of migrants in destination regions in recent periods (Silva Filho, 2017; Silva Filho et al., 2022).

Thus, this article aims to review the literature on Brazilian migration dynamics, highlighting the primary empirical evidence and associating them with the main migration theories – classical, neoclassical, and structuralist. The article is structured in five sections to achieve the proposed objective. In addition to this introduction, the second section presents the methodological procedures adopted. In the third section, the literature on the determinants of migration is reviewed based on the classical, neoclassical, and structuralist views. The fourth section emphasizes the empirical evidence of internal migrations and their association with the timely migration theory; the fifth section is the final consideration.

Methodological procedures

The methodological procedures used in this article followed two stages: i) the first searched the national and international literature for evidence on theoretical models that seek to understand the migratory movement of the population. This allowed us to find evidence from three main currents: classical, neoclassical, and structuralist. ii) the second sought to review the empirical literature on Brazilian migrations in national and international journals and, subsequently, to associate the results of each piece of evidence found with one or more migration theories.

The definitions of migratory visions or theories are based on different postulates, which always merge into the finalistic aspects. You always have source and destination locations that influence migration decisions. Although these theoretical definitions have similarities, the main peculiarities of each one are highlighted below, according to the literature cited throughout the work. A table with the principal authors of each theoretical current used in this work is also included.

Board 1: Classification of authors in the different theoretical currents used in this study
(free classification by authors)

| Classical Theory | Neoclassical Theory | Structuralist Theory |
|--|---|--|
| Smith (1996) Malthus (1996) Marx (1983) Durkheim (1999) | Sjaastad (1962) Schultz (1967) Lee (1980) Borjas (1987) Chiswick (1999) Martine (1987) | Singer (1980) Month et al (1993) Wood (1982) |

Source: author's elaboration

Classic view

- It assumes that migration takes place to promote the general balance between the supply and demand of labor, to result in wage equilibrium in the place of origin and destination of migrants. In other words, this dynamic occurs until the balance between supply and demand for work is equalized, thus promoting wage balance in this market.

Neoclassical view:

- They are based on rational choice, utility maximization, mobility of factors of production, wage differentials, and employment opportunities. In the neoclassical model, the sufficient condition for rural-urban urban-urban migration is regional/sectoral wage differentiation.

Structuralist View:

- A country's productive structure, evidenced by regional inequality, is the main driving force of internal migration. The reasons for migration are divided into two: The first is called the factor of change, characterized mainly by the mechanization of agriculture; The second is stagnation, caused by people's pressure for structural transformations in the productive dynamics. For structuralists, internal migrations are directly influenced by the global conjuncture from the industrialization process, historically conditioned as an instrument of spatial redistribution of individuals who adapt to changes in economic activities.

The searches were carried out using the main search engines for journal articles: Scielo, Scopus, Google Scholar, Science Direct, Capes Journals, and World Wide Science. The searches were conducted between January and July 2022, and articles were selected between August and November 2022.

The inclusion criteria for the first part – theories of migration – were based on the assumptions of articles that defended a theoretical current as a postulation of a population migration model and that this was cited in more than 20 articles located in the different search engines already explained. In the case of the second approach – empirical evidence of Brazilian migration – the inclusion criterion was the empirical analysis of the Brazilian migratory dynamics using data from the Census (which should occur every ten years in Brazil) or from the National Household Sample Survey (Annual Survey, which became quarterly as of 2012), both from the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics – IBGE, published in specialized journals from the year 2000 until the year 2023.

With the inclusion criteria presented above, we sought to organize a section with references to the theories of migration, evidenced in the theoretical models and the empirical evidence found for Brazil. Then, a table was built with the primary empirical research on the Brazilian migratory dynamics and its respective association with one or more theoretical currents on migration.

Determinants of migration: a review of the literature

Classic View

The factors that influence population mobility can be interpreted in the works of some classics of economics and sociology^[1], where migration is analyzed by the transformation of rural areas into urban spaces (urbanization), by the modernization of society's means of production (industrialization), and by the development of capitalists' means of capital accumulation (Oliveira, 2014).

Adam Smith (1996), in his work "The Wealth of Nations," described that the wages offered in Europe's great industrial and commercial locations in the eighteenth century attracted many migrants, mainly caused by the Industrial Revolution. This author proposed that wages and profits should reach equality between the city and the countryside. The stimuli lead these factors to the concentration of capital and labor in urban centers. Thus, "*[...] both capital and labor naturally seek the most advantageous employment, thus running whenever they can to the city and abandoning the countryside*" (Smith, 1996, p. 170).

This fragmentation of the market in urban areas is caused by fierce intra-capitalist competition. This dispute, in turn, decreases capital returns. Consequently, due to an ample labor supply in this labor market, wages are reduced considerably. This factor leads a part of the capital to move to the countryside due to the possibility of obtaining higher profits since the competition is less. On the other hand, there is a demand for agricultural labor that provides better wages (Smith, 1996).

For Malthus (1996), this displacement was understood as an inevitable consequence of overpopulation. In his theory of overpopulation, he argued that population increases decreases, or remains stationary according to the subsistence level. Thus, individuals grow in geometric progression, and food increases arithmetically. In this way, there would be a tendency for food shortages, creating barriers to population development. Therefore, moving to another region would allow them to escape this cycle of misery and poverty.

¹Ravenstein (1980), Marx (1983), Smith (1996), Malthus (1996), Durkheim (1999).

As a result of this detachment from the cities, real wages are reduced, and capital accumulation accelerates. However, lowering wage levels and the relative scarcity of food caused by migratory flows from the countryside to the city cause situations that generate jobs in agriculture and, therefore, increase the supply of subsistence goods (Malthus, 1996).

In contrast to Malthus (1996), Karl Marx (1983) described the reason why misery is caused by big capitalists intentionally reducing wages to maximize their earnings. Thus, in reporting the relationship between capital and labor, he emphasizes that the worker is free and can move around without worrying about territorial demands. However, since the proletariat does not have the means to guarantee its reproduction, it is forced to migrate to "sell" its labor power, which is its only commodity. Workers are then analyzed as expropriated individuals and, therefore, forced to migrate for a job that allows them better incomes and, consequently, better living conditions. Thus, for Marx (1983), the process of population migration cannot be separated from the migration of capital (accumulation of wealth), as they are configured as extensions of the same system of capital accumulation.

Émile Durkheim (1999), in his work *"On the Division of Social Labor,"* portrayed the modification of organic solidarity based on the division of labor and economic dependence that was related, in most cases, to the decay of the shared belief system, resulting in a social collapse. These factors have provoked conflicts between social groups, including suicides and crimes. Thus, migration became one of the factors that weakened these traditions, described by the author as a factor that modifies the social structure, enabling greater equality among people.

According to Muniz (2009) and Castanho (2013), one of the first classical models related to migration was described by Lewis (1954), who developed a dualistic conception of the economy, dividing it into two sectors: a capitalist one, encompassing more urban and industrialized sectors of society; and another for subsistence, which includes agricultural activities and rural areas. This model generally describes that the capitalist sector pays a higher wage than the agricultural sector, thus attracting an unlimited labor supply.

Based on the assumptions of this model, Muniz (2009) described that there would be a labor shortage in the countryside, causing a tendency to increase agricultural income, which would cause a decrease in wages in rural and urban areas. As a result, it would bring stability between marginal productivity in these two sectors and encourage the end of the adjustment process through migration.

However, migration only had a more systematic approach than the classical studies of Ravenstein (1880). In the conception of Caetano (1995), Ravenstein (1880) sought to identify the laws that order migrations through their unstable character, being a pioneer in one of the theoretical principles on the analysis of migrations: the existence of poles of attraction of individuals that are distinguished from regions of dispersion by the labor force.

Ravenstein (1880) described cities as poles of attraction, mainly because commercial and industrial activities provide diverse employment and income opportunities. Thus, there is a link between migration and change in economic activity. Therefore, migrants are attracted to more developed regions because there is a greater possibility of being incorporated into the labor market, thus having a better financial condition.

Ravenstein (1880) also pointed out that migrants moving to large urban centers are mainly people from nearby localities, given that the costs associated with displacement are proportional to the distance from the place of origin to the area of destination of origin.

Therefore, the expansion of cities at this accelerated pace cannot be explained only by the displacement of peripheral regions but also by the fact that fertility is relatively higher than mortality.

Thus, the classical view seems to assume that migration causes the general equilibrium between the supply and demand of labor, which induces wage equilibrium at migrants' places of origin and destination.

Neoclassical view

Among neoclassical theorists, Sjaastad (1962) has divided the expenses and returns of migration into two categories: monetary and non-monetary. The first covers all expenses related to the movement of migrants. The other is composed of the opportunity costs of this displacement, such as, for example, the time lost in the trip and in the search for another job, as well as the psychic costs related to the abandonment of acquaintances and the place of origin. Therefore, the individual, as a rational being, will only decide to migrate if there is a possibility that the income earned in the destination region will be higher than the costs linked to his displacement. Thus, it analyzed migration as an investment factor that generates expenses but can be converted into human capital.

Thus, Sjaastad (1962) developed the idea of selectivity. This conception is initially formulated considering the age group, where migrants already in adulthood are positively selected as they seek to invest more and more in their level of education. However, they must also consider influential or psychological factors that can positively or negatively influence the migrant's departure from their place of origin, also known as their place of birth.

In turn, Schultz (1967) created the theory of human capital. The author proposes that the knowledge acquired by the individual, despite being something that cannot be sold, positively influences the production of goods and consumption. These characteristics are explained by the assumption that individuals need to qualify to obtain better incomes, considering that this qualification makes it possible to increase their efficiency in the labor market. Thus, the displacement of migrants, especially their expenditure on education, is essential in receiving higher wages than their place of origin.

Converging with the theoretical approach proposed by Sjaastad (1962), Lee (1980) described a positive selection for the highly qualified individual; otherwise, there is an adverse selection. The cities of origin and destination characteristics are also considered, representing essential elements in the decision to migrate. Thus, the differences in the economic spheres cause the displacement of the population from the less developed regions to the more developed ones. He named the region of attraction the reason individuals choose their fate and qualified the region of expulsion as the cause that leads people to leave their place of origin. However, he reported that the decision to migrate is not entirely rational because people only migrate occasionally, making this choice with themselves in mind.

Borjas (1987) also described selective migration, basing his studies on the skills of workers and the prospects of returning immigrants from the United States. Through his analyses, he reported that the possibility of people migrating is positively motivated by the differences in income acquired at the place of destination concerning the place of origin and negatively influenced by the expenses related to the displacement of migrants. Therefore, migration occurs when net returns are favorable.

According to Chiswick (1999), economic migrants are characterized by moving from one place to another, a migratory movement within the country or across national borders, in search of better employment opportunities. In his model of positive migration based on the work of Sjaastad (1962), Chiswick (1999) modeled the costs involved in the returns of these displacements and the prices of human capital, considering that there are two types of workers: low-capacity and high-capacity. Capacity and skill levels are known to employees and potential employers at no cost.

Chiswick (1999) describes the high capacity of workers as having several characteristics: ambition, aggressiveness, perseverance, and entrepreneurial capacity, among others. Through his model, he explained that for the most qualified individuals, the rate of return is higher than for those with low ability since there are monetary expenses to travel. This income grows as these skills also increase. Thus, there is a positive selection, as they have stimuli to migrate. However, without these investments, there is no selectivity in migratory flows.

Freguglia and Procópio (2013) emphasized these studies by Chiswick (1999). The authors described that the reception of migrants is initially less possible than that of non-migrants because the costs related to travel to the destination region can be high. However, there is a process of appropriation of the worker after migration, where the income earned becomes higher than that of local workers, allowing him to have an advantage of moving in the long term. Thus, considering the self-selection of migrants, migration becomes a factor that can contribute to income inequality.

Santos Júnior, Menezes-Filho, and Ferreira (2005) also argued that the positive selection of migrants causes an increase in income inequality because migrants have characteristics that are not observable about non-migrants, among them greater motivation, aptitude, and entrepreneurship. In this way, as more prosperous states absorb more skilled labor to work, these workers are paid more and contribute to increased income levels.

Freguglia (2007) also described these characteristics, in which migrants, when moving to the place of destination, may present unobservable factors that, when put into practice in this region, contribute to increasing their productivity. Therefore, he described how the differences between migrants and non-migrants directly impact the destination area and can influence the worsening of income inequalities.

Cambota and Pontes (2012) also argued that internal migration could be understood as the displacement of individuals living in regions with a low level of development to more developed areas. One of the critical elements for this change is the search for better job opportunities. However, this factor can affect social inequality, as jobs that require this migratory movement provide more income to migrants than to non-migrants.

Thus, not only demographic, social, and economic characteristics but also unobservable attributes provide better incomes to migrants. Moreover, these unobservable components directly affect the pay gaps. Therefore, even if migrants and non-migrants have the same levels of education and equivalent demographic characteristics and are in the same field of activity, wage inequalities will persist (Gama & Machado, 2014; Silva Filho et al., 2022).

Contrary to this thought, Martine (1987) described migration as not a social problem but a solution to this obstacle, as it is part of the development process. However, it can only be considered a problem if natural disasters cause the reasons for this population's mobility or when their characteristics have implications for the very development of society.

Ramalho (2008, p. 23) described that "in the neoclassical model, the sufficient condition for rural-urban migration is regional/sectoral wage differentiation." For this reason, population displacement is considered a joyful event since the reallocation of labor allows for the readjustment of pre-existing instabilities caused by the poor distribution of resources. Thus, markets tend to balance themselves through the free displacement of jobs from the factors of production, with no possibility of unemployment in society (Cançado, 1999).

In summary, "neoclassical migration theories are based on rational choice, utility maximization, mobility of factors of production, wage differentials, and employment opportunities" (Bassan, 2017, p. 58). Therefore, this theoretical line follows the idea that migration constitutes an economic process where individuals' rational choices aim at a more significant future income and, consequently, a better quality of life.

However, this neoclassical analysis is based on the conception that individuals are rational and that this migratory process conditions a general balance between the supply and demand of labor in both regions (origin and destination), resulting in the interspatial homogenization of incomes, proving to be incapable of explaining the determinants of migration in areas with late development. For this reason, they are questioned by structuralists (Silva Filho, 2017; Silva Filho & Maia, 2023).

Structuralist view

At the end of the 1960s, especially in Latin America, a different view of migration was created through the conjuncture of less developed countries, also called peripheral countries, in which attempts were made to associate migrations with the characteristics implicit in economic expansion. This approach became the historical-structural bias (Ferreira, 2001; Ramalho, 2008).

One of the main contributions of migratory movements, especially internal migrations in developing countries, has been described by Singer (1980), Wood (1982), and Massey (1993). These authors, except for occasional divergences, affirmed that migratory flows are directly related to capitalist development, especially after the industrialization process in which there were changes in production techniques and the social division of labor. As a result, he reported that industrialization generates regional imbalances that motivate these migratory displacements. Thus, regional inequality is the main driving force of internal migration.

In this context, Singer (1980) reported two factors: expulsion and attraction. The reasons for the removal are divided into two: The first is called the factor of change, characterized mainly by the mechanization of agriculture. This mechanization increases production, but the labor supply decreases, causing labor displacement from rural to urban areas. The second reason is stagnation, caused by people's pressure for fertile land. Thus, with the increase in population, it becomes more and more difficult for people to stay in the countryside since the introduction of new land is limited since most of it is concentrated in the hands of big capitalists. As a result, people migrate not only to earn better incomes but also because, in many cases, they are expelled from their place of origin.

According to Singer (1980), Wood (1982), and Massey (1993), migration is understood as a social process historically conditioned by industrialization and by institutional and structural factors arising from the economic changes that peripheral countries have undergone. For this reason, these authors did not seek to understand migratory displacement by its appearance but rather to interpret it from a global perspective.

According to Nogueira (1995) and Ferreira (2001), the structuralist approach analyzes that migratory flows are caused by the conditioning of variations in productive structures, affecting all social classes in different ways. Therefore, migration is not characterized by the sum of individual decisions but by the determination of the capital strategy, which, by provoking regional inequalities where wage and income differentials become increasingly discrepant between regions, directly influences the migratory process from peripheral areas to the central part.

These groups are motivated by other phenomena that are also determined and related to structural change processes. Therefore, migration is analyzed as the potentiating element of inequality between regions and is also an essential component in capital concentration (Ferreira, 2001). Thus, for this theoretical line, the migratory flow is configured as a process historically determined and influenced by the patterns of capital accumulation in which labor mobility is subject to the interests that govern the capitalist system (Silva Filho, 2017).

Muniz (2009) described historical structuralists as analyzing migration as a process resulting from the social, political, and economic conjuncture. As a result, migratory flows are incorporated into a broad field. They may go beyond individual wills to the detriment of collective interests. Therefore, the social and economic scenario in which migrants are inserted must be considered to understand the reasons for population displacements.

Silva Filho (2017, p. 16) states that the "historical-structural approach proposes that the decision to migrate stems from the desire for better salaries and working conditions offered at the destination concerning the place of origin." In this way, subjective factors, as well as migrants' characteristics, are not the main reasons for labor displacement but the structural causes (usually of an economic nature) that lead people to move from one region to another.

The migrant, when entering the place of destination, is subject to the contradictions of that place because the new existing social relations present themselves in different ways from those they were used to experiencing. Thus, when adapting to the new place, the individual begins not only to acquire the characteristics of the environment but also to transmit the ideologies, cultures, and all the knowledge he brings from his origin, provoking a process of change without losing his identity. However, when this uprooting does not happen, the migrant begins to experience different realities, living in this new place without inserting himself in it, making it difficult for him to enter the labor market (Brumes; Silva, 2011; Bassan, 2017).

These characteristics are reinforced by Paviani (1993) when he reports that individuals will only effectively participate in the local production process when they adapt to the new region because, in addition to leaving their families, they also abandon the local culture to enter a new region or space in the search for better living conditions. Consequently, they need to settle in the destination to alleviate the feeling of uncertainty and achieve a sense of well-being. However, this stabilization in the destination region presents a socio-spatial and sociocultural identification limitation. Therefore, some motives encourage this fixation of the migrant, and others dispel any effort or attempt to carry it out (Brumes; Silva, 2011).

Thus, for structuralists, internal migrations are directly influenced by the global conjuncture, based on the industrialization process, historically conditioned as an instrument of spatial redistribution of individuals who adapt to changes in economic activities (Caetano, 1995).

For this reason, Bassan (2017, p. 50) reported that "although there are different types of mobility and the concepts present certain specificities in their approach, the definitions always start from the determination of a place of origin and destination." However, migration must be understood as a phenomenon that provides not only population displacement but also the process that represents the fundamental social, economic, and personal transformation directly related to the historicity of this movement.

For this reason, migratory flows are not a process that can be understood by themselves but are historically determined based on the conjunctural and structural transformations arising from the capital accumulation system of the big capitalists (Ferreira, 2001). Consequently, by emphasizing the reproduction processes of capital, they described methods for understanding the migratory motives that intervene in the copying of society. That is, in social groups. Thus, his studies focused not on individual behavior but on the collective attitudes of geographic areas (Brumes; Silva, 2011; Brumes, 2013).

Table of empirical evidence of internal migrations and their association with the theory of timely migration

The table below presents the empirical studies considered in this article on dance migrations. The authors of this study classified them according to their understanding of the approach given in the articles presented in chart one and its outcome in a theoretical current on migration.

Board 2: Empirical articles, journals, authors, and their association with the migration theory correspond to the authors' results.

| Paper | Journals | Authors | Results | Membership in the Theoretical Mainstream |
|---|---|--|---|---|
| O Papel da Migração Interna na Convergência de Rendimentos do Trabalho no Brasil, no Período de 1994 a 2009 | Revista EconomiA, Brasília (DF), v. 13, n.1, p.131–147, jan/abr | Cambota, J. N. & Pontes, P. A. (2012). | The results show a convergence of labor income among the Brazilian states | Classical Theory. |
| Efeitos da mudança de emprego e da migração interestadual sobre os salários no Brasil formal: evidências a partir de dados em painel. | Pesquisa e planejamento econômico, v. 43, n. 2, agosto. | Freguglia, R. da S. & Procópio, T. S. (2013) | The results show that changing jobs and migrating between Brazilian states increase wage returns. Moreover, the migration effect is greater than the job change effect. | Classical, Neoclassical, and Structuralist Theory |

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|---|--|---|---|---|
| Migração e rendimentos no Brasil: análise dos fatores associados no período intercensitário 2000-2010 | Estudos Avançados, São Paulo, v. 28, n. 81, p. 155-174. | Gama, L. C. D.; Machado, A. F. (2014) | Migrants and returned migrants earn higher labor income than non-lookouts in Brazil. | Classical Theory, Neoclassical Theory. |
| Migration of labor: differential of income between rural and urban trade union workers in Brazil | Journal of Economic Studies, 47(4), 939-966. | Lima, C. F., Costa, E. M., Mariano, F. Z., Justo, W. R., & de Carvalho Castelar, P. U. (2020) | Income differentials occur in favor of urban-urban migrants. | Structuralist Theory. |
| Migração, Seleção e Diferenciais de Renda na região | Revista Brasileira de Estudos Regionais e Urbanos, 13(1), 141-160. | Lima, Y. C.; Filho, L. A. & Cavalcanti, D. M. (2019) | Migrants from the Northern region generally does not form a positively selected group, but | Neoclassical Theory. |
| Norte do Brasil em 2010. | | | fixed-date migrants (who have lived there for less than five years) are positively selected. | |
| Migração e seleção e diferenças regionais de renda no Brasil. | Pesquisa e Planejamento Econômico, v. 32, n. 3. | Santos Júnior, E.R.; Menezes-Filho, N. & Ferreira, P. C. (2005) | Migrants are positively selected and earn higher labor incomes than non-migrants in their places of origin and destination. | Neoclassical theory and structuralist theory. |
| Migração, seleção e diferenciais de rendimentos do trabalho em Pernambuco—2000/2010 | Nexos Econômicos, 15(1), 54-81. | Silva Filho, L. A., & Santos, R. A. H. V. (2021) | Intermunicipal migrants from Pernambuco are selected positively; the unobservable characteristics that affect migration decisions also affect labor income differentials. | Neoclassical Theory |

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Source: authors' construction based on the bibliographic survey.

The empirical bibliography on migration and labor income differentials in Brazil shows that migrants are positively selected and that unobservable characteristics significantly affect the migration decision and impact labor income in their favor. In addition, it is possible to understand that the classical, neoclassical, and structuralist migration theories are present in Brazil's empirical evidence in such a way that they explain, depending on the starting question of the research, the national migratory phenomenon.

Thus, it is emphasized that some evidence should be highlighted:

- Migration in Brazil occurs mainly due to the opportunity to work in the places of destination, even with changes in the migratory dynamics recorded over the years, according to the empirical literature;
- Low labor supply in regions with less economic dynamism drives the movement of the population to leave in search of job opportunities in other regions of the country;
- Wage differentials between the regions, due to structural issues in their productive dynamics, drive the internal migratory movement of the country;
- Brazilian migrants are positively selected; that is, they have unobservable characteristics such as ambition to grow professionally and economically, courage to seek new opportunities, determination, and willingness to improve the economic situation, among others, which affect both their migration decision and their salary differentials in the destination regions;
- There is wage inequality between migrant men and women, with the wage premium being higher for men who migrate to the detriment of migrant women;
- Migration in Brazil, over the years, has been an excellent opportunity to change the social position of the population;
- Migration in Brazil presents characteristics that are essentially predominant due to the idea of better living conditions in the destination regions to the detriment of the original regions.

Table 1 shows the percentage share of Brazilian migrants, according to place of birth, based on data from the demographic censuses of 1991, 2000, and 2010. The table shows the participation of people who were born in a region other than the one where they lived at the time of the survey (major regions) – inter-regional migrations –; people who were born in a different state from the one they lived in at the time of the survey (Federation Unit) – interstate migration –; and, people who were born in a different municipality from the one they lived in at the time of the research (municipalities) – inter-municipal migration.

Table 1: Percentage share of migrants according to birth moonlight information in major Brazilian regions, states, and municipalities – 1991, 2000, 2010.

| Brazil | 1991 | 2000 | 2010 |
|------------------|------|------|------|
| Major Regions | 9,3 | 10,0 | 9,0 |
| Federation Units | 14,8 | 15,4 | 14,2 |
| Municipalities | 35,8 | 37,0 | 36,7 |

Source: IBGE, demographic censuses of 1991, 2000, 2010.

The data show that interregional migration occupies its lowest relative participation, similarly to the others. In addition, interstate migration, which is higher than interregional migration but lower than intermunicipal migration, occupies the most significant relative share among them in the national territory.

Table 2 shows the relative participation of the Brazilian population by household condition (urban and rural).

Table 2: Percentage distribution of the Brazilian population by urban and rural households – 1991, 2000, 2010.

| Brazil | 1991 | 2000 | 2010 |
|--------|------|------|------|
| Urban | 75,5 | 81,2 | 84,4 |
| Rural | 24,5 | 18,8 | 15,6 |

Source: IBGE, demographic censuses of 1991, 2000, 2010.

The data plotted in the table show that over the years, the share of people living in street areas has decreased relative to those living in urban areas. These results may be associated with changes in the migratory dynamics and in the way of life of the country's population.

Final considerations

The objective of this article was to review the literature on Brazilian migration dynamics, highlighting the primary empirical evidence found and associating them with the main migration theories. To this end, we resorted to a review of the theoretical literature on migration and the empirical evidence in Brazil. Initially, the classical, neoclassical, and structuralist views that significantly influenced the studies of internal migrations were analyzed, followed by empirical studies on internal migrations in Brazil.

In the classical view, migration is analyzed because of urbanization, industrialization, and the development of the means of capital accumulation by the big capitalists. They describe a link between migration and change in economic activity, where wages and profits reach a level playing field between town and country. Therefore, they assume that the general balance between labor supply and demand is caused by migration, leading to wage equilibrium at the place of origin and destination of migrants.

In the neoclassical view, the relations between employment and the market and wages and goods are the main reasons that induce individuals to migrate in search of work and income. Therefore, they underline that migration is an economic process analyzed as an investment, where the individual has complete information about the place of destination, deciding to migrate if there is a possibility of improving their living conditions based on more significant financial gains. Thus, workers migrate to regions where labor is scarcer, and capital is high because productivity and income are high because of the correlation between capital and labor. Therefore, people tend to migrate from poorer regions to more affluent areas due to inequalities between work and income.

On the other hand, structuralists believe that migratory flows constitute a social process related to the conjectural and structural transformations resulting from capitalist accumulation. When these characteristics intensify, income differentials become increasingly unequal between regions, directly influencing individuals to move from peripheral to central locations. For this reason, migration cannot be understood independently, given that constraints on production structures affect social classes differently. Thus, structural (often economic) reasons influence migratory flows and increase regional inequalities. However, other elements of life in society, such as values, cultures, beliefs, etc., should also be considered as drivers of migration.

In addition, it was found that these economic theories have a common point: regardless of the mode of production, migration is associated with the economic drivers of employment and income. Thus, the main factor influencing population displacement is the search for better working conditions, especially with higher salaries than those earned in the region of origin.

In Brazil, the migratory movement, according to what was found in the evaluation of the empirical bibliography, occurs mainly through the search for employment in the most economically dynamic regions. In addition, the search for better salaries and the possibility of social ascension drives part of the population to migrate. Thus, these studies show no evidence of forced migration, such as in countries that face wars, at an instant. Thus, the decision to migrate seems to reflect the individual's decision in search of better opportunities in the labor market and the desire to become socially enlightened by improving their quality of life.

In this sense, it is essential to emphasize that migration should be analyzed from an economic perspective and added to the social character. For this reason, it must be understood that in the spaces of migratory flows, there is not only the exchange of people but also the exchange of information, ideologies, and cultures that directly corroborate the social transformations in the places of destination.

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